3. Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

Map preceding p. 1 (A)

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3. Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

Map preceding p. 1 (B)

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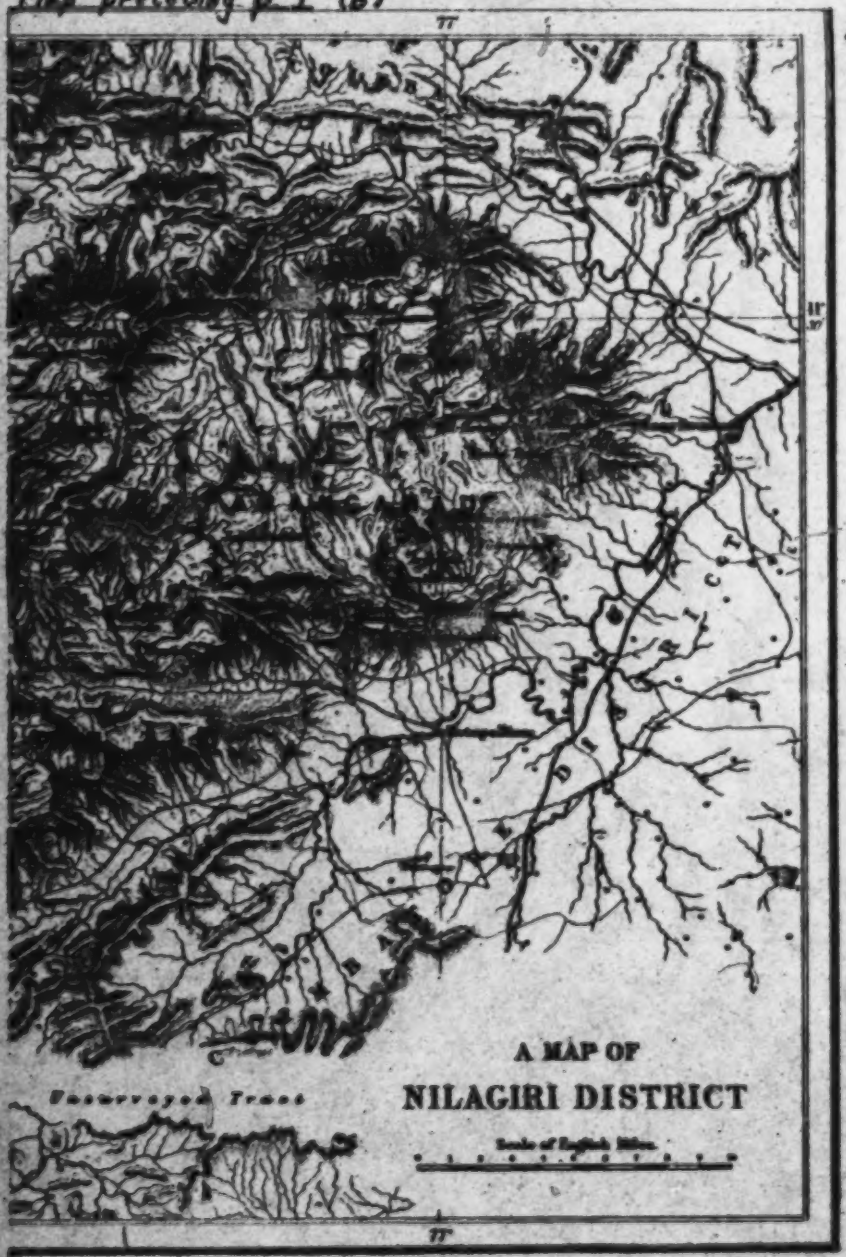

3: Breeks G-S (no date) 1873 Todas

p 1

THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES OF THE NĪLAGIRIS.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF THE NĪLAGIRIS—ALTITUDE AND GENERAL CHARACTER—SCENERY.—CLIMATE.—RAINFALL.—RECOGNISED GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.—FIVE NATIVE TRIBES.—THE BADAGAS NOT ONE OF THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES.

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The Nīlagiris* are a lofty range of mountains in Southern India situated between 11° 10′ and 11° 32′ North latitude and 76° 50′ and 77° 31′ East longitude.

They may be said to form an abutment on the great belt of mountains, which, under the name of the Western Ghâts, runs down the western side of the Peninsula, from the River Tapti to Cape Comorin. They are bounded on the north, partly by the territory of the native kingdom of Mysore, partly by Wainâd, the upland division of the Madras

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* Nīlagiris means blue mountains, from nīla, blue, and giri, a mountain or hill; the common, but corrupt, spelling is Neilgherries. Accounts of these mountains and their inhabitants will be found in the following works:—

1826. *Letter to the Calcutta Harkaru, by Rev. James Hough.*
1857. *General and Medical Topography of the Neilgherries, by Dr. Young.*
1862. *The Todas, by Captain Harkness.*
1864. *Notes through Malabar and among the Neilgherries, by Captain Mignan.*
" *Folk of Cannery and Neilgherries, by Lieutenant Jervis.*
" *Neilgherries, by Dr. Bathie.*
1835. *Geological Sketch of the Neilgherries, by Dr. P. M. Benza.*
1838. *Topographical Report of the Neilgherries, by Dr. De Burgh Birch.*
1844. *Antiquities of Neilgherries, by Captain Congreve. Vol. XIV., Madras Journal of Literature and Science.*
1847. *Memoir of the Neilgherries, by Captain J. Ouchterlony. Vol. XV., Part II., Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1848.*
1851. *Goa and the Blue Mountains, by Lieutenant Burton.*
" *Neilgherry Letters, by Captain Sir Francis Ford.*
1864. *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, by Rev. F. Metz.*
1868. *An Account of the Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherries, by J. Shortt, Esq., M.D.; also Hill Ranges of Southern India, Part I.*
1870. *The Aboriginal Tribes of the Neilgherry Hills, by Lieut.-Colonel W. Rees King. Journal of Anthropology, No. 1, July 1870.*

Besides the above, notices may be found in different Literary and Scientific Journals.

Colonel W. Marshall has just published a book called *A Phrenologist among the Todas*.—ED.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

/81 district of Malabar; on the east by the district of Coimbatore; on the south partly by
/83 Coimbatore, and partly by Malabar; and on the west by Malabar.

The Nīlagiri plateau is from thirty to forty miles in length, and from ten to twenty-four in breadth. It contains several lofty peaks, the highest of which, Doddabett, is 8,642* feet above the sea.

/88 The altitude of Coonoor is 5,886 feet; that of Ootacamund† 7,416 feet.

The mountains rise very abruptly to two-thirds of their total height, presenting from the plains below almost the aspect of a wall, unbroken by any lower ridges. Their base is covered with a belt of dense jungle, rising to a height of from 2500 to 3500 feet. This is succeeded by an open grassy space, one or two miles wide, nearly destitute of trees. Above this the vegetation is entirely different from that of the jungle below, and the forests assume more the appearance of those found in temperate climates. Along the edge the plateau is, in parts, especially on the western side, very precipitous, broken by wooded ravines, and exceedingly picturesque. The interior of the plateau consists chiefly of grassy undulating hills, divided by narrow valleys, which invariably contain a stream or a swamp. In the hollows of the hillsides nestle small beautiful woods, locally known as *sholas*.‡

It is seldom that so much variety of beauty is found in so small a compass. From the bleak heights of the Kūndahs, with their storm-beaten moss-hung woods and rank coarse grass, to the springy turf and many-coloured *sholas* of Ootacamund, and the tropical vegetation of the western slopes, every five or ten miles brings the traveller to a new climate, and new scenery. Even on the summit of the plateau the rainfall varies with each different aspect, and ranging from about 30 inches to 150 or more, produces a corresponding range of vegetation. It is, however, the views over the edges of the table land that are most singular and striking, from the extreme abruptness of the descent. Let a visitor take a short ride in almost any direction from almost any part of the plateau, and, passing along shady English-looking lanes, sheltered by thickets of blackberry and wild rose; across bare breezy downs, sometimes dotted with twisted, crimson-flowering rhododendron trees, and intersected by swampy valleys, where buffaloes wade and wallow; through dense woods carpeted with rare beautiful ferns and gorgeous in spring tints, beside which the colouring of an English autumn is faint and dull; by native villages, with their patches of cultivation and their magnificent single trees; he will find himself on some ridge or promontory, looking straight down from 4000 to 6000 feet, on a scene that changes like the figures in a kaleidoscope. In the morning a sea of clouds lies at his feet, and gradually rises round him. In the afternoon this has cleared away, and reveals, perhaps, a vast crimson plain, veined by dark lines

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* According to a recent observation made by Colonel Saxton of the Trigonometrical Survey Department.

† Ootacamund, properly Utakamund, is the principal European settlement on the Nīlagiris; the others are Coonoor and Kotagherry. There is also a military sanatorium at Wellington. Of late years, Europeans have established themselves in various parts of the district, and opened out plantations of tea, coffee, and cinchona.

The names of the settlements above referred to are spelt according to the mode which long usage has assigned thereto. The same course has been pursued in the case of other well-known names, such as Mysore, Coimbatore, &c. According to the system of spelling adopted in the vocabulary, Appendix A., Utakamund, Kūnur, and Nīlagiri, would be substituted for Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kotagherry.

‡ From the Kanarese *cādu*, a wood or forest.

183 of wood, dotted with isolated hummocks like giant ant-hills, and terminating in faint blue lines of mountains the furthest of which seems to hang half-way up the sky; perhaps on a tumbled mass of hills and valleys, a perfect dissolving view, for the eye has hardly traced the outline of some rocky ridge, glowing red in the sunlight, before a blue cloud-shadow blots it out, and a fresh series of crests and ravines starts into sight beyond. Broken peaks, hung with woods, frame the picture, and on all lies tropical sunlight, intensified by the keen thin mountain air.

132 The climate is temperate and equable. At Ootacamund, according to a series of observations, extending over seven years, the mean maximum temperature ranges from 60·06° in December to 68·76° in May. The hottest months of the year are April and May, the coldest, December and January. The hottest hours of the day in summer and winter do not vary more than nine degrees, and the extreme variation of temperature throughout the year is only 21·25°.

The climate of Coonoor and Kotagherry is warmer; no observations have been recorded for the Kūndahs. The average rainfall at Ootacamund is about 45 inches, but it is much greater on the Kūndahs, and generally on the western side of the plateau, which feels the full force of the S.W. monsoon.

Early in June this monsoon breaks with great violence on the western face of the mountains, but diminishes in violence as it extends eastward. At Ootacamund it is much milder than on the Kūndahs, and at Coonoor and Kotagherry it is but slightly felt. It lasts until about the middle of September. The north-east monsoon, which commences in the middle or end of October, bursts heavily on the north-east corner of the plateau, and the first fall usually extends over the whole of it. At Ootacamund, from December to May, the weather is dry and very bright; the winter nights bring sharp frosts in the swampy valleys, but on higher ground these are little felt, and English garden and greenhouse flowers may be had in profusion all the year round. The average number of days on which rain falls at Ootacamund in the course of the year is said to be 100, of cloudy days without rain 28, and of clear fine days 237.

101 The Nilagiris are divided into four *nâds* or divisions, named respectively—

TodanÂd.
MekanÂd.
PerangaÂd.
KūndanÂd.

They are inhabited by five native tribes, viz.:—

Badagas.
Todas.
Kotas.
Kurumbas.
Irulas.

Of these, the Badagas, although far the most numerous, not being an aboriginal or jungle race, do not come within the scope of the following pages, which will be devoted to an account of the four primitive tribes, and of the rude stone monuments, of uncertain origin, which are found in various parts of the plateau.

The Badagas are Hindus, chiefly of the Saiva sect, and are supposed to have migrated to the Nilagiris from Mysore, about 300 years ago, after the breaking-up of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. According to the last Census they numbered 19,476. They are an agricultural race, and cultivate various cereals of rather a poor sort. They hold their lands under Government at very easy rates, and of late years many of them have acquired considerable wealth, and own large herds of cattle. They pay a sort of tribute, in grain, to the Todas. Their language is a corrupt form of Kanarese.

/81

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CHAPTER II.

THE TODAS.

CENSUS.—PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.—MODE OF LIFE.—RELIGION.—RITES AND CEREMONIES.—FUNERAL.—LANGUAGE.—HISTORY AND TRADITIONS.

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161 The Todas numbered 639 by the Census of the 15th November 1871. Considering C. the pains taken to ensure accuracy, we may accept this enumeration as approximately correct.

162 **List* of Todá Population in the Nilagiri District according to the Final Census of 15th November 1871.**

Village.	No. of Persons.			Mands occupied.	Mands unoccupied.
	Male.	Female.	Total.		
Todanâd - -	319	212	531	30	38
Puranganâd - -	55	49	104	5	3
Mêkanâd - -	2	2	4	1	—
Koondahs - -	—	—	—	—	2
Total - -	376	263	639	36	43

161 * The foregoing list was taken from the original returns of the population of the Mands. When the returns were revised and tabulated, it was found that thirty-eight Todas, counted in the Ootacamund population, had been omitted, and that there were other slight inaccuracies. The revised list is as follows:—

Todanâd - - -	507
Puranganâd - - -	105
Mêkanâd - - -	33
Ootacamund Town - -	38
Total - -	683

—*Editor.*

The total number of Todas, male and female, in Todanâd and Mekanâd in 1835 was officially* reported to be 194, in 45 villages.

Todas are divided into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz. :—

1. Dêvalyâl.
2. Tarserahâl.

The first class consists of the Peiki clan, corresponding in some respects to Brahmans. The second of the four remaining clans, the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi.

The Peikis eat apart; and a Peiki woman may not go to a village of the Tarserahâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis.

The Peikis are not, however, like the Brahmans, recognised as superiors. On the contrary the other clans say, "Are they not our servants?"

Peiki women are called Kotti, those of the other clans Panni.

For a description of the men and women I quote from Dr. Shortt's *Tribes of the Neilgherries*, page 4.

"ETHNOLOGY.—*Toda Tribe.*—In physique the Todas are by far the most pre-
"possessing as a tribe, and it is this superiority in personal appearance, in conjunction
"with their singular costume, peculiar mode of wearing their hair, their bold and
"self-possessed deportment, and unique social and domestic institutions, that have
"at all times attracted for them the greatest share of attention and interest from
"Europeans. In complexion the Todas are of a dull copper hue,† not deeper or
"darker in colour than most of the inhabitants of the plains; but they are darker than
"the Badagas and many of the Kotas, a few of whom are met with fairer even than
"the Badagas. The Kurumbas and Irulas are not only darker than the Todas, but
"strikingly so to the eye. The Todas are tall in stature, well-proportioned, and in
"features partake of the Caucasian type:—*Head*, slightly elongated like the Hindoos;
"*forehead*, rather narrow and receding, measuring 2½ inches from the root of the nose
"to the growth of hair and scalp; *eyebrows*, thick and approaching each other; *eyes*,
"moderately large, well formed, expressive, and often intelligent; *irides*, varying in
"colour from hazel to brown;‡ *nose*, long, large, and well-formed, generally aquiline—
"in some slightly rounded, arched, or what is termed Roman, in others cogitative—
"measuring from root to tip 2½ inches, and height from base of alæ to ridge 1½ inches,
"breadth of alæ from side to side 1½ inches; *upper lip*, narrow; *lower lip*, thick or
"full—and face covered with a close thick moustache, whiskers, and beard, all of

* See letter from Principal Collector of Malabar, 9th February 1835.
Mr. Sullivan, referring to this letter in an official memorandum, dated 20th August 1835, says:—
"This does not tally with former returns, and is certainly incorrect. The Census of 1826 gave a
"total of 326 for the whole Hills; and there is no doubt of their numbers having increased, since
"Captain Harkness counted 300 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and
"girls at a Toda funeral."

† Agreeing in this respect with Paul Broca' Table, No. 29.

‡ The majority being intermediate with Nos. 1 & 2 of Paul Broca' Tables.

141 " which are worn full; *ears*, of moderate size, and lying close to the skull; *teeth*,
" white, clean, and regular; head well covered with black hair, of moderate
142 " fineness, and worn in a peculiar fashion, combed smoothly around from the
" crown, and cropped evenly in line with the eyebrows, and covering the head very
" much like a natural skull-cap; body of the male, hirsute, especially on back and
" chest; *figure and contour of person*, generally attractive, and carriage graceful.
" Of 25 men, I found the average weight and measurements as follow:—Weight,
" 121·40 lbs.; height, 63·30 inches; circumference of head, 20·81 inches; neck,
" 12·81 inches; chest, 32·22 inches; arms, 9·36 inches; thighs, 16·64 inches;
" length of arm from acromion process to tip of fingers, 32 inches; length of hand,
" 7·50 inches—breadth, 3·50 inches; lower extremities, well proportioned, with
" moderate calves; feet, well formed and arched, length of foot, 11·50 inches—
" width of sole, 4 inches.

142 " *Females of the Toda Tribe.*—The women of this tribe are generally tall and
" stalwart; good-looking both in features and person, with a smooth, clear, and delicate
362 " skin; fresh and rather fair in complexion. They have more of an aquiline nose
" than the men, which, however, does not diminish from the strong feminine cast of
" their features. The hair is of a lighter colour than in the male, parted in the
" centre, and carefully combed around and thrown behind the ears, and left
" hanging free over the shoulders and back, in a mass of flowing curls in some,
" and in others, wavy. I have not seen any of the women with very long hair.
" In those I met, it did not exceed 1½ or 2 feet in length, and was of moderate
157 " fineness. The females, like the males, are self-possessed in a great degree, and
609 " readily enter into conversation with strangers, be they white or black. It has
" been averred that the Toda females, as a class, are strikingly handsome and comely
142 " in features; but although many of them certainly possess charms in person of a
" robust character, I cannot say that I met with even one with a handsome or
" pretty face, much less any with features approaching in perfection or beauty to a
" classical model.

141 " From an average of 25 the following weights and measurements were obtained:—
" Height, 60·25 inches; weight, 110·80 lbs.; circumference of head, 20·8 inches;
" neck, 11·11 inches; arm, 8·90 inches; chest, 30·11 inches; thighs, 14·6 inches;
" length of arm, 27 inches; length of hand, 6·75 inches, breadth, 3 inches; forehead
" from root of nose to growth of hair on scalp, 2 inches." (*Plates* III., IV., V., VI., VII.)

142 The facial peculiarities of the Todas are not so great as they at first sight appear.
302 When they shave and wear turbans, which many now do, they are hardly to be
distinguished from other natives. Their frank bold manners are, however, entirely
157 peculiar to themselves, and very attractive. A Toda laughs without disguise or restraint
609 at anything in an Englishman that strikes him as ludicrous, and generally seems to consider himself as an equal or superior. I suspected them of a little hoaxing sometimes. It is impossible not to like them, if only for their independence and good-humour.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

"A *mand* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high, and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use. The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

"Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10 feet."

The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes. Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

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* Derived from *Manĭ*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Manĭ*.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pājāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pājāri*.

421 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
428 *pattā** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied,
592 "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and
177 depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
651 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion, an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to
461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from
294 the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the
262 Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Pattā*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{6}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese *for basket, seed*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kōri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kōri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

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262 houses, and I am informed by an officer who has been for many years on the Hills, that he has frequently found them in the woods cooking meat, which they appeared anxious to hide.

595 Polyandry is on the decline amongst them, and its practice depends now chiefly on the means of individuals. It is considered desirable for each man to have his own wife if he can afford it, and some few men have two; but in poor families two or more younger brothers have still but one wife; in this case the brothers generally live in separate houses and take the wife in turn.

847 The practice of female infanticide has, I believe, entirely ceased. Indeed I can hardly induce any Toda to acknowledge that it ever existed. The disproportion, however, between the number of men and women supports Mr. Metz's assertion that it was practised within the last thirty years.

517 Their pastimes are not numerous. They are expert at a game called *Ildta*, which is
526 played as follows:—

A cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends is placed against the corner of a stone; a slight tap from a stick sends it flying into the air; as it comes down the batsman hits it away to a great distance, and scouts are posted to catch it as it falls. In fact *Ildta* is a variety of *tipcat*.

Another game is called *Närthpimi* (*Plate* X.) Close to some manda a sort of stone table may be observed, consisting of two slabs stuck edgewise into the ground and another laid across them, leaving an opening just large enough for a man to drag himself through on his stomach. Two stones are fixed as starting posts, one at about thirty the other about sixty yards from the table. A man stands by each of these, and the nearer of the two runs to the table, and tries to wriggle under it, before the other, starting at the same time from the farther stone, can catch him. The rapidity with which they squeeze through the opening must be the result of long practice in crawling in and out of their house doors.

A third game, called *Käridlapimi*, has some resemblance to puss in the corner.

Some of them, by way of a trial of strength, lift a large round stone (*Plate* X.), raising it first to the knee, and rolling it up the thigh and the chest on to the shoulder. The stone must be very heavy, for putting forth all my strength, I could not raise it more than two inches from the ground. The man I saw lifting it, was a fine athletic fellow, but he strained every nerve in the effort, and only one other man in the mand could do it at all.

For a list of Toda garments, ornaments, household utensils, &c., see Appendix B.[1]

291 Major King, in his article in the *Journal of Anthropology* of July 1870, describes the Toda dress as follows:—

"The garment* in which the Toda envelopes himself is of a thick, coarse, "cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or

* Toda: *Pútkuli.*

[1] [Category 16, Ap. 117–128.—Analyse]

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"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.) A pair of brass armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Büguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end. The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs (*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hok, Hok*.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mâv*, father-in-law,* which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil. *Tenure of land.*

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had paid annually a light pasture tax for about 100 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirâi fanams*‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pâthâvâ*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirâi fanam* = 0r. 4a. 8p. of present money.

[Plate 5A -- Analysis]

177 421 423 651

an undefined extent of land. Further, the Badagas and Kota cultivators had always given them annually a portion of their field produce under the name of *gūdu*, but, "*whether out of superstitious motives, or to induce the Todas not to "molest them, or in acknowledgment of their proprietary right in the land,*"* was uncertain.

This seems to be the case for the Todas.

On the other hand there is nothing in the Toda occupation which affects the universally acknowledged right of the Government to levy full assessment on all uncultivated land, when actually brought under tillage, a right which the Government had exercised without objection in the case of all lands cultivated by the Badagas and paying *gūdu* to the Todas.

The first step in the settlement of the matter was to declare in 1843 that the Todas had an absolute right in their mands or village sites and in the spots appropriated to religious rites, and had also a claim to compensation† for abridgment of their grazing privileges, but that purchasers from Todas could only buy the right of occupying the land for pasture. On this principle compensation was paid by Government for the area now forming the Ootacamund settlement. Subsequently, on further inquiry, in connexion with the survey of the Hills by Captain Ouchterlony, it was found that the Badagas generally were not disposed to admit the right of the Todas to demand *gūdu* from them at any specified rate, although they acknowledged the practice of giving *gūdu*, and their readiness still to give it "according to their own wants or fancy." It was found too that the Badagas had for some time past sold lands to Europeans and others without any mention of the *gūdu*, and that no claim had subsequently been urged by the Todas on the buyer. On inquiry into the extent of table land over which *gūdu* was claimable, it appeared that on the whole plateau of the Hills there were not more than about a hundred mands occupied and unoccupied, and that the pasturage rights of the Todas, in practice, only extended to the area surrounding each mand. Under these circumstances it was ruled that lands in the proximity of a mand or of spots appropriated to religious rites formed the grazing grounds of the Todas, but elsewhere unoccupied land might be given by Government on lease for building or agricultural purposes. Every lease, however, was to contain a stipulation that *gūdu* would be charged to the grantee, and added to the annual assessment, if it appeared to the satisfaction of the revenue authorities that *gūdu* was payable thereon. Subsequently, in 1863, sales by public auction were substituted for leases. Under orders from Government the revenue authorities have abstained from leasing, or putting up to public auction, land which could be said to be in inconvenient proximity to Toda

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* *Despatch from the Court of Directors to Madras*, dated 21 June 1843, No. 13.

† Compensation equivalent to the *Gūdu* was to be given, and added to the assessment when the land was taken and tilled; and in case the land so taken was a portion of that for which the Todas paid the pasture tax, its proportionate share of the tax was to be remitted.

In *Minutes of Consultation*, dated 7 May 1852, the *Gūdu* equivalent was fixed at 1 anna per Kisi (cawny). A Cawny = 1·22 acres.

177 421 423 651 mands, and I cannot find that in a single instance has *gûds* been claimed* for lands disposed of by Government.

Thus the rights of the Todas remain to the present day. They receive *gûds* from the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and the means of the cultivator, and they retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing *pattás*, for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied.

They have an effective mode of extracting the *gûds* from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badaga cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their mands and buffalo kraals,† and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned, and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the *gûds* arises, the Todas, by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned mand for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda buffaloes *kraaled* in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason.

793 234 There are five kinds of priests, who rank as follows:— *Relig Rites Cere*

I. *Pálóls* (*Plate* XII.), who, according to the regular sequence of Toda ideas, are a mixture of ascetic and herdsman. They live at isolated mands called *Tiviaris*.

"No female is allowed to go near the mand, nor can any man hold converse with "the Pálaul without special permission, and then only at a considerable distance.

* * * * *

"Great sanctity attaches to the person of the Pálaul in the eyes of his Toda brethren, "and he therefore exerts a powerful influence over their minds. They believe that "God dwells in him, and makes known His will through him to those who come to him "for counsel."‡

There are about nineteen *Tiviaris* occupied at certain periods of the year by five *Pálóls*; two, whose head quarters are near Mukkurti Peak (*Plate* XII.), two near Nanjenád, and one near Kodanád. They have charge of sacred bells, which they carry from mand to mand. The *Pálóls* must be Peíkis; the *Tiviaris*, however, belong to certain Tarsenhál mands, the inhabitants of which elect the *Pálóls*, and furnish each with an attendant called a *Kavilál*, who may be either a Peíki or Pekkan, and gets six rupees a year, his food, and a cloth, which however he may not wear when in immediate attendance on the *Pálól*.

The latter gets nothing but the milk of the sacred herd, which is kept for his use at the *Tiviari*; he holds office as long as he chooses, generally for three or four years. One is said to have been *Pálól* for fourteen years, but this is mentioned as something extraordinary.

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* *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No. 4,748, 20 July 1863, and *Mr. Grant's* Letter of the 17th idem. "Provision was always made in the leases for payment of *gûds*, and for a few years it was enforced. But "the amount did not exceed a few annas, and the Todas did not care to ask for it."

† *Kraal*, a circular enclosure, in which cattle are penned at night, surrounded by a rough stone wall.

‡ *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

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They do not wear the ordinary *Pûthuli*, but a scanty black cloth called *Twuni*, made specially for them by the Badagas of Jakanêri.

"The preparations for this supposedly sacred office occupy a whole month, and the "exposure to which the aspirant to it is subjected is so great as to place his life in "some peril. For eight days and eight nights he must remain in the jungles without "a particle of clothing to protect him from the severity of the climate. His body is "at this time to be rubbed over with the juice of a certain tree called Fûr or Tûr, the "botanical name of which I do not know. After this the purifying juice is washed "off, and he is allowed to enter a small hut, which is the only shelter he is permitted "to have during the remainder of the period."*

II. *Varzhâls*, who undergo the same preparation as the *Pâlâls*, but for a shorter period. They are employed as village milkmen, and may be either Peîkis or Pekkans. They hold office temporarily, and during their tenure must abstain from intercourse with women. Whilst employed in their official capacity they may only wear the langooty.

III. *Kokvali*. There is only one, who appears to be identical with the Varzhâl in all but the name; he lives at Tûrnât mand (*Plate* VIII.).

IV. *Kurpuli*. There is only one, who lives at the Kenna mand of Kândal, and must be a Kenna. In other respects he is the same as the *Varzhâl*.

V. *Pâlikârpâls* may be of any clan, but Peiki and Pekkan mands must have Peîki and Pekkan Pâlikârpâls. They are not obliged to abstain from intercourse with women, and can wear the *Putkuli* while performing their duties as village milkmen.

There are two kinds of temples:

I. *Boa*, a conical roofed temple surrounded with a low wall (*Plate* XIII.).

II. *Pâlthehi*, a temple resembling in outward appearance an ordinary house, but larger. Of *Pâlthehis* there are two varieties; the first the dairy-house, of which every *mand* possesses one at least; the second variety, though similar in appearance, is something more than a dairy-house, and wherever found, the mand is called by Todas *Etadmand* (*Great Mand*), and by Badagas *Mui mand*, in contradistinction to a *Buri* or common mand.

Both *Boas* and *Pâlthehis* are used as dairies, the only difference apparently being that the priests may live in the latter, and not in the former.

When a mand has two temples there are generally two priests, one a Varzhâl, and the other a *Pâlikârpâl*. Each has his own division of the village herd to milk, and his own temple in which to keep the milk and ghee. The *Boa*, if there is one, is appropriated to the *Varzhâl*.

There are four *Boas*:—

(1.) Called *Mânboa*; at Muttanâd *mand*, about four miles from Ootacamund on the left of the Segûr road.

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* *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

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234 (2.) Called *Kiurzh*;* at the *Tiriari* mand near Sholūr.
771 (3.) Called *Tērzhva*; at the *Tiriari* mand on the Kūndahs.
346 (4.) Near Brikapatti; called *Mutterzhva*.

Formerly there was a fifth called *Katedva* near Mukkurti at Mudimand. It is now in ruins.

103 Every clan has its own *Muimands*. I give a list, with the name of the presiding God and Bell, where there is one.

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Peiki Muimands (*Etadmands*).

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Karia	Marialph.	
2. Yemagal	Poltivasāri.	
3. Ebgódu	Nalkanash.	
4. Kengódu	Kyadf	Mírzhan. Ertâtu. Kírzhan.
5. Kundigód	Térvalth.	
6. Melgod	Nirzálva.	
7. Pilondugód	Térvalth.	
8. Mardini	Nirzálva.	
9. Denádu	Apurshanash.	
10. Wongód	Nirzálva.	
11. Karimolu	Toriáldf.	

Pekkan Muimands.

1. Manjakal	Móddva.	
2. Narigo	Tvarieldf.	

Kenna Muimands.

1. Kandal	1. Torzhaldf	Narál Kantshu.
	2. Karzhaldf	Ponál Kantshu.
2. Kandiko	Térvalth.	
3. Ar	Tilthbóa	Karidzand (2 bells here so called).

* Measurements:—

From top of roof to ground	16′
Inside diameter, north to south	9′ 2″
Do. do. east to west	8′ 2″
Outer circumference two feet above ground	34′
Height of doorway, inner and outer	1′ 7″
Breadth do. do.	1′ 2″
From eaves to ground	3′ 5″

The door faces West. The interior is in two compartments, divided by seven thick beams standing on end. The centre beam, in which the inner doorway is cut, is about 1½ feet broad, and reaches from the ground to the conical top. The other six beams are of like thickness, but of less breadth and length.

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Kuttan Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Kodanâd	Mûsdshyâld	Kérahandk.
2. Pangôd	Pêrgârsh.	
3. Âr	Tirzh pâlzh (in ruins).	
4. Nârsh	Ponarshaldf.	
5. Kanorzh	Muderzhva.	

Todi Muimands.

1. Puirtâl	Térvalth.	
2. Kârzhtith	Kâtêtivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângûar. Kânj.
4. Térshdêr	Korzhaldf.	
5. Kérkôârsh	Musdshyâldf.	
6. Kúramârzh	Marzhaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirzâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarâr*	Terpivor; Têkva; Pêshhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârsh	Mânboa. Ârialdf.	
10. Kúêrsh	Kênaldf.	
11. Párzhtâr	Karzhaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peikis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivén.

Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bêtikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkish (who was a son of Ên, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salâm to the rising sun (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasionally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâlthchi*, but no one except the *pûjâri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pûjâris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

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* Bad. Tâmât. *Pl.* vm.

† Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XL the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them.

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pōjāri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pōjāri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *ekole*. The Peiki *Varshāl* comes with three holy branches of the *Tīr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tīr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *varala*, *mottu*, or *kou* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast.

The institution is *Mīmāl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting.

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two.

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Purshāvā*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Pelkim man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*koe*), the *Purshāvā* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pālthēdi*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and

* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 9.

† *Mīmāl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

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553 drinking springs, are names of gods. Female children are not taken to the *Pálkchi*
551 and christened; there is no ceremony in their case. The mother calls her female child by any name she fancies. She will never give the child her own name.

Early betrothals are common amongst the Todas. The boy is taken to the girl's
584 house and salutes his future father-in-law by lifting the feet of the latter to his forehead.
583 An interchange of buffaloes completes the contract. When the time arrives for claiming his wife, the young man goes alone to the mand of his father-in-law, who gives him the girl, and a separate house to live in for a few days. There is another exchange of buffaloes, and the bride is taken home.

When two or more brothers* are the husbands of one wife, this ceremony is performed with the eldest alone.

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601 * Names used to express relationships in Toda.

English.	Toda.	Literal Meaning.
1. Father	*En, Eyan.*	
2. Mother	*Aff.*	
3. Son	*Mókk.*	
4. Daughter	*Kukk.*	
5. Father's elder brother	*Perudón*	Great father.
6. „ younger „	*Kirudón*	Little do.
7. „ elder sister	*Mámi.*	
8. „ younger „		
9. Mother's elder brother	*Mámun.*	
10. „ younger „		
11. „ elder sister	*Perudaff*	Great mother.
12. „ younger „	*Kirudaff*	Little do.
13. Father's brother's son	*Ax*	Brother.
14. „ „ daughter	*Akkan*	Sister.
15. „ sister's son	*Macken.*	
16. „ „ daughter	*Tajmakk*	Female.
17. Mother's sister's son	*Ax*	Brother.
18. „ „ daughter	*Akkan*	Sister.
19. „ brother's son	*Macken.*	
20. „ „ daughter	*Tajmakk*	Female.

Nos. 5, 6, 13, and 14 at first sight would appear traceable to polyandry, but Nos. 11, 12, 17, and 18 create a difficulty.

Todas have no name for *husband* and *wife* beyond *Ák* and *Tajmakk*, which simply mean man and woman.

In *Anthropological Journal* for *January* and *July* 1871, page 28, *ye* is said to be *father* in Toda. I do not find it so.

551

Male Names.	Female Names.
1. *Kóvi*, a sacred buffalo bell of a *Tiriari* is so called.	1. Káthavali, (lit.) silver coin.
2. Pernál, literally a great man.	2. Darathinir, (lit.) a jewel scale.
3. Nárikát, (lit.) child of jackal.	3. Tahináh, (lit.) gold one.
4. Poukát, (lit.) child of gold.	4. Berath, no meaning that I can find out.
5. Tahinkát, (lit.) do.	5. Depbil, (lit.) silver ring.
6. Padrithzh, (lit.) name of a god who resides on a mountain.	6. Pondshilkannni, (lit.) gold ankle balls.
7. Kódálvén, (lit.) the man of the funeral.	7. Kattabira, (lit.) Cutcherry, Sircar office.
8. Álvén, (lit.) a man.	8. Pilkinurugu, (lit.) white ear ring in the top of the ear.
9. Beltavén, (lit.) like silver.	9. Pilttaipa, (lit.) white ring.
10. Kirnáli, (lit.) little one.	10. Tákém, (lit.) doctor. This child was so called because an European doctor cured it of an illness soon after its birth.

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In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tāli*?"* The father consents. The husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kāndal it is *Pirzhvākham.*
„ Muttināḍ „ *Pirzhírzhk.*
„ Kodanāḍ „ *Kurrkdwirzh.*
„ Manjakal „ *Bellgárāff.*

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nāga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Māmūl* and *Shāstra*. One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow† we have got a wife who is with child.*"‡

The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordsai Kēdu*), which takes place soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marvendāli Kēdu*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

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* The *Tāli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tali.

† See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Moegling, p. 40:—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?[1] That such marriages have been a recognised practice in India from ancient times is evident from Manu, iii. 33.

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[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock: *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 9:—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolised by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of men generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not united but enslaved to her husband."

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Each clan has its own appropriate* days of the week for the green funeral, "according to the *Shastras*."

The body is not removed from the place of death till it is carried to the burning place,† which the Todas call *Methgúdi* (*lit. Marriage temple*).

All green funerals are alike. I will describe one I saw near Kartêri, at the old burning ground of the neighbouring mands, an open space near a stream. The body was brought on a stretcher preceded by Kota musicians. It is not necessarily carried by the relatives, or even by men of the same clan. A rough hut (called *Nólpali* for a man, and *Nirzhárzh* for a woman,) was built of boughs and grass, in which the body was placed. The women of the mand sat by it, and moaned in their peculiar manner, one of them meanwhile embroidering a strip of cloth for a purse. Four walking-sticks and several skeins of cotton-thread, each with a bunch of cowries at the end, were laid upon the body, which was wrapped in a new *púthuli*,‡ the feet being tied together by the great toes with a piece of blue thread.

A rude circle§ about a yard in diameter was then made of single stones, leaving an entrance gap at one side. Outside this circle the body was laid, with the head opposite the entrance, and the nearest male relatives in turn, drawing their *púthulis* over their heads,‖ took a wand (*Pett*), round which was tied a small rag, obtained from the *Pálál*, dug up the earth at the entrance of the circle, and muttering "*Purzhutukamá*," "May I throw earth?" threw three handfuls into the centre of the circle, and three on the body. After this the body was carried back to the hut and placed on the ground outside, and the women sat round it as before. A large silver necklace (*Kévilth*, *Plate* XI., *Fig. b*), belonging to the widow, was laid on the breast of the corpse.

The funeral pile¶ was made of large logs on a space cleared for the purpose near the hut. The dead man's herd was driven up, and some fifteen or twenty Todas went to it, one of them carrying wreaths of leaves to throw at the doomed buffaloes. Two of the animals were seized by four or five men hanging to their necks, separated from the herd, and dragged to the hut, followed by the Kota musicians. A bell was then

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* *For men.*

Peiki -	- Thursday, Saturday, Sunday.
Todi -	- Sunday, Tuesday.
Kuttan -	- Saturday, Sunday.
Kenna -	- Tuesday, Saturday, Sunday.
Pekkan -	- Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday.
	For women.
All clans -	- Thursday and Saturday.

† Each clan has several *Methgúdis*, separate ones for men and for women. In this case, however, as the deceased was a poor man who had died while on a visit to relatives at a distance, his body was not carried back to the usual burning ground of his Mand.

‡ When death is imminent the patient is dressed in a new *Púthuli* and other cloths.

§ The circle is called *Toal* (*Kraal*), and is made in imitation of a buffalo kraal. If there is a kraal near the *Methgúdi*, the body is taken there, and the stone circle is not made. It is never made for a woman.

‖ Compare 2 *Sam.* xv. 30; *Esther* vi. 12; and *Jer.* xiv. 3, 4.

¶ The wood of the *Eugenia Arnottiana* is always used at the green funeral, that of the *Olea robusta* at the dry.

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764 tied round the first buffalo's neck, and the corpse was lifted and made to touch three times the side of the animal, which was killed by one blow from the back of an axe, and its body dragged up, so that its head lay close to that of the dead man, the hand of the latter being made to clasp the buffalo's horn (*Plate* XIX.) The bell was then 765 transferred to the other buffalo, and the same process repeated. All the relatives seated themselves by the three bodies to mourn in couples, a man and woman putting their heads together and sobbing and moaning. After a little while each couple would separate, the woman saluting the man by raising his foot to her forehead (except in the case of the old women, when the process was reversed), and fresh pairs would be formed. As with other Eastern people, their sorrow is woeful to behold, the tears literally streaming down their faces and over their cloths. Their grief, however, is marvellously transient.

After this the widow sat alone mourning at the head of the deceased, and put three handfuls of grain into the pocket of his cloth. Then the body was placed on the bier, and laid on the ground beside the pile, which was lighted by the relatives, who, again covering their heads, made fire with two sticks.*

764 One side of the bier was cut into three and laid on the pile. *Sāmē* grain (*Panicum miliare*) and jaggery, the two great Toda luxuries, were then put into the pocket of the dead man's *pūtkuli*, with two cheroots, some tobacco wrapped in red cloth, and the purse, embroidered by one of the mourners, containing five or six rupees in silver and a little gold coin.† A ring was put on the finger, and earrings in the ears. A bit of the skull with hair and one of the finger nails‡ were cut off by the relatives; these, I was told, would be kept till the dry funeral in a little hut built near the mand for that purpose, and a buffalo bell hung over them for the relatives to ring night and morning. The bell is not hung over the remains of a woman. After this, ghee was thrown on the pile; the body was swung three times over the flame and laid on the pile *face downwards*, a sort of imitation bier or hurdle, which had previously been placed under the body, being laid above it.

When the fire has burnt out, any coin or metal that may have been actually given to the flames, is recovered; usually they merely pass such articles through the flame by way of an offering.

No care is taken of the ashes, they "are left to the winds," as a Toda told me.

765 The dry funeral takes place within a twelvemonth or so after death, according to
[946] the pleasure of the relatives. Each clan has its own *kēdmanes*§ or funeral houses, different ones for men and women. They are sometimes near a mund, sometimes not, but always have a kraal at hand. They are like the ordinary Toda huts, but are sometimes decorated at the time of the funeral with silver coins. These are mostly rupees,

372 * A dry stick of the *Calrodaphne Wightiana*, about as thick as a man's thumb, is laid on the ground and held firm by the feet, a second stick is held upright between the two hands, the point resting on the horizontal stick: by twirling the upright with great rapidity between the palms of the hands fire is produced at the point of contact.

† Called by Todas *Birān pānām*. I think it is the same as the *Biriankane* given to a dying Badaga. This is a *Vīr-rayo* or Coorg-fanam.

‡ These appear to be specially sacred relics among the Buddhists also. Stupas covering a lock of hair, crown of skull, or finger-nail of Buddhist saints seem to have been common in the palmy days of Buddhism.

§ *Kēd* is the name given to the skull, hair, and finger-nail saved from the green funeral, which are tied between two pieces of bark.

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but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nīlagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws off his *pútkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bēti Khân, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance, a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pútkulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peikis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kēd*, wrapped in a new *pútkuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kēdmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "*Hah! koh! ēr kar ullamā*," ("May the buffaloes and calvés be well,") or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kēd*, covered by the *pútkuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kēd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

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* *Monigar*—properly *manigakāran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchāyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

1 [of the second or "dry" funeral -- Analyst]

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75 friends of the deceased in turn, covering their heads with their cloths, scratch up the earth with a stick (*Petti*), to which is tied a rag given by the *Pálál*, and throw three handfuls of earth into the kraal, and three on the *pátkuli*, as in the green funeral; each before throwing mutters "*Purzhutukumâ*" ("May I throw earth") to a man of the Peiki class standing by the entrance, who replies "*Purzhut*" ("Throw earth.") At the funeral of a Peiki, one of the Tarserzhâl performs this office.

When each of the relatives has thrown his handfuls, the *pujâri* approaches with some garlands of creepers, which he throws at the buffaloes. At this signal, a crowd of young men leap into the kraal, the gate is opened, and, with a rush, men and buffaloes pour out in a cloud of dust, four or five men clinging to each animal's neck, while others urge it on with their clubs. The excitement and confusion are great, and the danger not small; as the buffaloes, blinded and terrified, tear wildly round the kraal and against its walls before they can be dragged out to the place of slaughter. This differs in different cases. At a Peiki funeral, where nine buffaloes were slaughtered, one was killed near a couple of posts about a hundred yards from the kraal, and the rest near the *kédmane*, their bodies being laid in two rows with the heads together. At a Todi funeral near Tirnât Mand, commemorative of a single death, one of the two buffaloes slaughtered was killed near the *kédmane*, the other at the mand *Pâlthchi*. Death is inflicted by one blow between the horns from the back of an axe. The *pátkuli* and *kéd* are then laid beside the carcases, and men and women sit down by them and mourn in couples, changing places from time to time as at the green funeral.

The next ceremony at a Todi funeral is most striking, and vividly recalls Mosaic sacrifices.

The Peiki *Varzhâl* carries a small urn-shaped vessel of leaves, stitched together, and filled with pieces of bark of the *Meliosma pungens*, to the mand herd, and sits a little way off, while the young men run in and seize a female buffalo and a calf. The latter is decorated with an iron bell, and held by two or three men, while the buffalo is dragged to a stone, to which the *pátkuli* and *kéd*, the deceased's stick, and a miniature bow and three arrows are brought. The *kéd* is untied, and the hair, &c. laid on a mimic stretcher (*Berrkur*) about 1½ foot long, roughly made of green sticks. The buffalo is half stunned by a blow between the horns from a big stone, and a clansman of the deceased, with an axe, makes a gash under its right foreleg. Into this wound the *Varzhâl* dips a few of the pieces of bark from the leaf vessel, and gives some of them to the kinsman, who smears the blood on the *kéd*, with some words which are differently reported by different Todas. The clearest sentence given is "*Karma odî ponâ*," "May "the sin run away." Another man repeated an unintelligible sentence, which, however, contained the words *Karmo*, sin, and *Amunâd*, heaven, so that the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice underlies the ceremony.

(They make rather a secret of this part of the proceedings, fearing, not unreasonably, that it may be objected to on the score of humanity, and I had to promise not to report the matter, or induce Government interference, before they would let me see what was done.) A Peiki man then puts on the *pátkuli*, in which the *kél* had been wrapped, and a silver necklace, and taking the bow and arrows, the latter laid across the bow, as though in readiness for shooting, dips the points of the arrows into the blood on the *kél*, saying "*Birzhutukumâ*," "Shall I give the bow." After this

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they walk to another stone near the Kĕdmane in procession, shouting "Hoh Hoh," the Peiki with the bow in the middle, and the *Varzhál* in front, carrying the leaf vessel, out of which he takes two pieces of bark at intervals, throwing one behind him and another before him. The calf is dragged to this stone and let loose, when they all run after it, throwing themselves down at intervals so as to touch the ground with their foreheads, and shouting

Amnnádga Sérumá
Karma dharma tilimá.

which may be rendered, "May he enter heaven, may it be well with his good deeds "and his sins."

The Peikis and Pekkans do not sacrifice a buffalo, nor loose a calf at the dry funeral, but at the next new moon they slaughter a male buffalo, and bringing the blood in a leaf vessel to the *kédmane*, sprinkle it on the kraal and the *Āzāram*.

The ceremonies are hardly concluded, before the Kotas descend upon the carcases of the buffaloes like so many vultures, and hack them to pieces, screaming and squabbling over the spoil, and carrying off the flesh in great lumps to their homes. It is curious that the Todas, to whose relatives the dead animals are consecrated, make no objection to this disgusting operation, though carried on at the very door of the *Kédmane*. I asked a Toda once about it, and he replied, "*When the buffaloes are* "*alive they are ours; when dead they belong to the Kotas.*"

The *Kéd* is burnt about four o'clock on the following morning (they say the burning must be completed before dawn) at the *Āzāram*,* a single circle of large stones fixed in the ground not far from the Kĕdmane. They first light a fire outside the *Āzāram*, and then spread the *pátkuli* with the *kéd* in the middle of the circle, and pile burning sticks on it until, with the help of ghee, they make a great blaze. They put on the inside fire the following articles:—

A *Kŏf Kutti*, a sort of large knife or sickle wrapped round with cloth.
An axe.
Twenty-one bamboo measures ornamented with cowries, two anna bits, and coloured threads, and containing barley, kīre, and sāme grain.
Four or five cakes of jaggery.
A winnowing basket.
A basket for holding rice.
Three or four Toda walking sticks.
A straight pole (*Tarzh*) 20 feet long, ornamented with tassels and rosettes of cowries, and sometimes with a small silver umbrella. (*Plate* XI., *fig. b.*)
A palm-leaf umbrella.
A miniature bow and three arrows.† (*Plate* XI., *fig. a.*)
A purse.

* I could not ascertain with any certainty whether these stone circles, which are always to be found near the funeral mand, had been constructed in recent years or were of considerable antiquity. Their appearance, however, did not suggest any great age. From the Todas whom I questioned on the subject, it was very difficult to elicit any definite information; but the impression which their answers conveyed, was, that now and then they construct new circles, when they consider that the old ones have been used long enough.

† I am told that these are burned at the green funeral when the Kotas have time to make them, but they must not be made beforehand, or the man for whom they were intended would die; and as the Kotas will only work, and the Todas only burn on certain days, it must frequently happen that the two do not coincide.

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The pouch of the *pútkuli* is filled with grain. Outside the *Āzāram* are burnt the miniature stretcher (*Berrkvur*), some half-dozen mimic buffalo horns of bamboo (*Kŭtĕr*), the dead man's bamboo milk vessel, and the *Pell*. All the silver ornaments are passed through the flame and removed, before the utensils, &c. are burnt. All the time the fire is burning, two Kotas are making night hideous with their discordant music, and all the Todas mourn and weep in couples, sobbing their rhythmical farewell to the dead:

* *Ámmáddga seruwā,*
Karma dharma (pronounced *Karrm Dharrm*) *tiliwā.**

Courtesy requires that all who attend the funeral should go through the form of mourning, but a brief display of mitigated grief contents mere acquaintances.

Just as dawn is breaking, the music is stopped, the mourning ceases, and in dead silence all cluster round the *Āzāram* for the impressive closing ceremony. Water is sprinkled on the embers, a large stone at the entrance of the circle† is taken up, and a pit dug under it, into which they scrape the ashes, and the stone is replaced.

At a Todi funeral a man goes three or four times round the circle ringing a bell,‡ followed by another with a chatty,§ but this is not done by all the clans.

Finally a dim figure enters the circle, and raising a chatty high over his head dashes it to pieces on the stone covering the ashes, ‖ bends down, touches the stone with his forehead, and hastens away. All the others perform in turn the same prostration, and flitting silently down the hill—a procession of hurrying shadows—fade into the mist through which twinkles the distant fire at the *kédmane*. Imagination might easily transform them into the departing spirits of the propitiated dead.

They tell me that they have a tradition that after putting their foreheads to the stone, they must get away as quickly as possible, and without looking back. The natives of the plains have, I believe, a similar superstition.¶

At a woman's dry funeral, instead of the bows and arrows, a rice-beater is burnt, and last of all the *kédmane* itself, a remarkable symbolical acknowledgment of the exceptionally important position which the Toda women occupy.

Thus the Toda funeral, like the Badaga song which describes a future state,** ends in note of despair, a mournful suggestion that, after all, their cares for the dead may be in vain. Surely those who instituted these remarkable ceremonies must have recognised the significance of that time-honoured symbol the "broken pitcher;" a type of irremediable

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* This is the only thing in the shape of verse I know among the Todas.

† At a Todi funeral near Tārnāt Mand the entrance was N.N.E., but this does not seem to be always the case. Some more modern *Āzārams* might be examined to ascertain this, which is important in connexion with the orientation of the cairns.

‡ Not a sacred bell, but one that the Kotas keep and bring with them to the funeral.

§ An earthen pot.

‖ Dubois, People of India, p. 290. At a Brahman funeral "the chief of the funeral taking on his shoulder a pitcher of water goes three times round the pile, letting water run over it through a hole in the vessel, which he afterwards breaks near the head of the corpse."

¶ Among the Todas, according to Dr. Pope, the same word, Bhût, stands for ghost and demon. Possibly the interment of the last relics of the dead is felt as breaking his last link with the living, and giving him over to the disembodied army of Bhûts. The dread of ghosts, or belief in the evil power of the spirits of bad or unmarried men is very common in India.

** Dravidian Folk songs, by Mr. Gover.

destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Azāroms*. Numbers of these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bētikhān, who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas? a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris are still expert archers.

The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pūtkuli, tharp, kōnu, &c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

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* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tēr* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

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mittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then expert in the use of the bow, but when they found that they could obtain from the cultivators a share of their produce, such an idle race as the Todas would naturally abandon the toilsome and precarious occupation of hunting.

The disuse of the bow is thus, to a certain extent evidence of an improvement in the material condition of the Todas, though unaccompanied by any advance in civilization: still, as they themselves admit that it would be convenient to supplement their food by samber* flesh, their present inability to procure it, shows how easily a semi-savage race may lay aside and forget† arts of obvious utility as soon as the pressure of absolute necessity is withdrawn.

It is noteworthy that this indication of a still wilder life than that of the modern Toda, should occur side by side with traces of so much higher a religious condition.

The disposal of the body is suggestive. Col. Dalton, in an account‡ of somewhat similar funeral rites among the Kols, observes that some of the accessories of their ceremonial suggest the idea that their dead were originally buried, not burnt. The Toda ceremonies convey this impression with still greater clearness. The *Berrkvur* probably represents an actual bier, and the sprinkling of earth on the body and in the circle, as before described, leads almost inevitably to the conclusion that the body was formerly buried, *and that the stone circle was the original burying place.*

The minor observances present coincidences interesting, but of little ethnological importance, such as the dread of looking back, as old as Orpheus and Eurydice; and the three handfuls of earth which recall our own funeral rites.

It would be desirable to obtain detailed accounts from eye-witnesses of the ceremonies of other Indian Hill tribes, and of the Low Castes of the plains. It seems to me that it is in such observances, rather than in the every-day life of these tribes, that the most valuable indications of their previous condition are to be found; because, while circumstances necessarily affect their ordinary life, customs of this kind may remain unchanged for centuries.

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* Samber, commonly known as the Indian Elk, a large kind of deer.

† Vide—Sir J. Lubbock *On the origin of civilization and primitive condition of Man*, page 331 :—

"The art of spinning and the use of the bow are quite unknown to many races of savages, and yet "would hardly be likely to have been abandoned when once known"!

Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, page 451 :—

"Many again, of the ruder arts, as for instance the manufacture of pottery, and of bows, are so useful, "and at the same time, however ingenious in idea, so simple in execution, as to render it highly "improbable that they would ever be lost, when they had once been acquired"!

‡ Col. Dalton's *Kols of Chota Nagpore. Transactions Ethnological Society, Vol. VI., New Series, page* 37. He says that among the *Hos* and *Moondahs* a corpse is burnt in a very stout coffin furnished with projections as if to facilitate transport. With the body are burnt all the clothes and ornaments of the deceased, and what money he had with him at his death. The larger fragments of bone are afterwards selected (the rest being buried at once) and hung up for some time in a place where they may be constantly viewed by the mother or widow. After some time a large monumental stone is brought to the family burying ground. The bones are carried in procession to the houses of relatives, who mourn over them, and to the favourite haunts of the deceased, preceded by men with drums, and girls carrying empty and half broken pitchers, which from time to time they reverse. Ultimately the procession circles round and round a large hole at the burying place, the bones are placed in a new earthen vessel, and deposited with a quantity of food in the grave, which is covered by the monumental stone.—Compare the reversed pitchers and interment in an earthen vessel with the account of cairns at the end of this volume.

The Todas, as we have said, believe in a Heaven and Hell, the latter represented by a river or swamp full of leeches. The road to *Ámunâd* (Heaven) lies across this stream, and those who have already reached their Paradise, make for new-comers a bridge formed of a single thread, which will bear a good man, but breaks under the weight of a sinner, and precipitates him into *Pâthirigên** (Hell) (from *pâf*, leech; *éri*, place; *gên*, water), where he remains until he has expiated his offences. I asked particularly what became of the slaughtered buffaloes meanwhile, but my informant had evidently taken this economical question into consideration, and replied that they crossed higher up, and were utilized by the dead man's family until his penance was over.

Ámunâd is presided over by Ēn, a deified Toda, on whose authority the Todas believe it to be "a good place." Their description of it however does not seem attractive. They say that here men's arms and legs are poisonous, so that by culture they wear out the earth, but that in *Ámunâd* the tables are turned, and the arms and legs of the cultivators are gradually worn down to the elbows and knees. When they have arrived at this stage, they return to earth. This seems a strange form of the common tradition of antagonism† between the earth and its inhabitants. As Todas cannot be accused of wearing out the earth by culture, this peculiarity of *Ámunâd* probably only affects strangers. It is curious to find this prejudice against agriculture expressed in almost the same terms as far back as the time of Menu. *Cf. Institutes, X.* 84. "Agriculture is a mode of subsistence which the benevolent greatly blame: for the iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it."

The bridge of thread recalls the Mahomedan Al Sirât, and the Badagas have a similar tradition, which receives a curious illustration from the actual practice of the Khâsias, when carrying home the remains of any of their number who may have died at a distance. "The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade through water, and if they trust themselves to it, would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and, if the breadth is great, this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow, merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the 'string bridge'"‡

Our own old superstition about the inability of witches to cross running water seems a reproduction of the same idea.

The Todas have no written language. Captain Harkness§ speaking of their dialect says, "It appears to be quite distinct from the languages of the surrounding countries. With the Sanscrit it has not the least affinity in roots, construction, or sound, and if I may venture to say so, as little with any Asiatic language of the present day."

Major Ross King gives a similar account in the *Journal of Anthropology* for July 1870.

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* Dr. Pope (*Outlines*, &c.) says "pâf, an insect, is probably old Kanarese-puṛu. It must, however, be stated that the words in which *f* is found are precisely those which it is most difficult to trace."

† Compare *Genesis* i. 28, and iv. 12; also *Moor's Hindu Pantheon*, page 248, story of Pritha and Prithivi.

‡ *On the Stone Monuments of the Khâsi Hill Tribes*, by Major H. H. Godwin-Austen. *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, October 1871, Vol. I., No. II.

§ *Neilgherry Hills*, p. 25.

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Little was known of the Toda language in Captain Harkness' time. Since then it has been studied and analysed, and both in grammatical structure and inflexional forms, it is found to resemble closely the other Dravidian* languages of Southern India.

Tamil and Canarese derivatives form the bulk of the language. Out of a hundred words commonly made use of by a Toda, Mr. Metz finds at least eighty to be identically the same with, or derived from, words used by his Dravidian neighbours: other philologists might find more.†

Mr. Metz has kindly furnished me with a vocabulary (Appendix A.)‡ giving the correct rendering in Toda, Kota, Kurumba, Irula, and Badaga, of all the words contained in Dr. Hunter's *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan languages of India and High Asia.*

To this vocabulary Mr. Metz and I have prefixed a table of letters with the corresponding sound of each in some European language. We have followed, as far as possible, Dr. Pope's *South Indian Alphabet*, to which however a few additions have been found necessary, in order not to sacrifice the sound or the derivation of words;‡ for instance, Todas for the most part pronounce the long *a* like *a* in *all*. To have rendered the *a* by *ŏ* or *au* would have obscured the derivation in many cases: ex. gr., Tamil pāl milk = Toda pāl (paul).

Dr. Pope's object was the simple transliteration of South Indian written characters, not the representation of the sounds contained in all the dialects written and unwritten. For philological and ethnological objects, which presumably the Government have in view in ordering inquiries such as I am conducting, simplicity is less important than the accurate rendering of every sound by a distinct character, so as to facilitate comparison and analysis by philologists personally unacquainted with the dialects. Moreover at present none of the systems of transliteration proposed by Sir W. Jones, Drs. Wilson, Caldwell, Pope, and others, have commanded universal acceptance; and the result is that even the various written characters are not always uniformly rendered, while the unwritten dialects depend for their orthography on the taste and fancy of the speller. The consequences of this are well illustrated in Dr. Hunter's work. He has necessarily compiled his Dictionary from various vocabularies, spelt upon no uniform system, and has wisely refrained, as he says, "from corrections in languages of which he was ignorant."

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* With regard to the theory propounded by Mr. Gover in *The Folk-songs of Southern India*, of the Aryan origin of Dravidian languages, an extract from a letter of Dr. Gundert's, with which Mr. Metz has favoured me, may be interesting:—

"Thus much I think I myself know, that no one acquainted with both families of speech will ever make "Dravidians into Aryans. How much the former have borrowed from the latter is well known. That the "latter in turn have borrowed words from the Dravidian, I have, I think, proved in greater detail than is to "be found in Caldwell."

† Dr. Caldwell (*Comp. Gram.* p. 16) says, "Of all the Dravidian idioms the Tamil is that to which the "Toda language is most nearly allied."

Mr. Metz thinks that it is more nearly connected with old Kanarese, but that it is as distinct a dialect as Tulu.

Dr. Pope ("*Outlines of Toda Grammar*, § 44") says, "The language seems to have been originally old "Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect."

Mr. Burnell has noted the large proportion of Sanscrit words in the Toda vocabulary.

‡ Since the above was written, Dr. Pope's "Outlines of the Toda grammar," written for Colonel Marshall's book, has been printed. The vocabulary, however, contains different words; the spelling also is rather different, as is inevitable, when no recognised system exists.—*Ed.*

(9019.)

‡ [Not reproduced — Analysis]

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000 For the Toda language he has consulted two vocabularies under the respective names of Toduva and Toda,* which he thinks may possibly refer to different dialects; not unnaturally, since the former systematically follows the phonetic, and the latter what may be called the derivative system of spelling. Thus he gives, for *Four*—

Toduva = *Nook.*
Toda = *Nánk.*

In this case the compiler of the former simply regarded the sound of the word, whereas the author of the latter was mindful of the derivation from the same root as the Tamil *Nálu*, Canarese *Nálku*.

The same difference occurs in the next page, where Six is rendered—

Toduva = *Or.*
Toda = *A'r.*

Again Dr. Hunter has apparently been compelled to depend for some dialects on writers who were very sparing of diacritical marks, and did not always distinguish even between long and short vowels. Thus *Three* is written—

Badaga = *Muru* instead of *Mūru.*
Kurumba = *Mudu* „ *Mūdu.*

And Thirty in both languages is *Muvattu* instead of *Mūvattu.* Four, *Nálku*, is given correctly, but Forty is written *Nalvattu*, instead of *Nálvattu*, and One hundred is *Nuru* instead of *Núru.*

Every page almost of the Comparative Dictionary would supply similar instances.

Dr. Hunter himself is aware of, and regrets, the imperfection of his materials. He says (p. 18), "The attempt to represent tones was, after mature consideration, given up. "Of the consonants little need be said, except that I have not ventured to improve "the apparent accuracy of the book by a manufactured uniformity. The temptation "to do so has presented itself on every page. The letters d, ḍ, r, for example, and "particularly ḍ and ṛ, are very often used indiscriminately, some of the compilers of "the lists writing ḍ generally as *r*, others putting *d* instead of ḍ. "I thought it better, "even where it might be clear which was the correct form, to print the words as they "stood in my MS. lists, than, for the sake of appearances to venture on corrections "from analogy." After giving one or two instances in which such corrections would have led to error, Dr. Hunter says, "This confusion I chiefly regret, because it has "rendered it unsafe to complete what I had hoped would form the most important "feature of the book, to wit, a table of non-Aryan phonetic changes. " " " Until a table of phonetic changes is constructed, and its laws ascertained, researches "into non-Aryan speech will remain destitute of the exactitude of Indo Germanic "philology."

As the Government have interested themselves in the history of the lower Indian races, it seems to me desirable that they should do, what no one else in India can, viz., stamp with authority some one well-considered Indian alphabet for scientific purposes, on

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* *Vide* page 17 of Dr. Hunter's *Comparative Dictionary of the non-Aryan languages, &c.* Referring to Toduva, and Toda, he speaks of them as "representing the same language, or variation so close as to seem "scarcely deserving of separate places."

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the principle of the "Universal Alphabet" proposed by Dr. Lepsius.* The actual adoption of Lepsius's system seems to me undesirable, because the great number of sounds it comprises, and the consequent complexity of diacritical signs used, are not requisite for Indian vocabularies, and would be unnecessarily bewildering to amateur compilers.

I would suggest that the Government of Madras, for instance, should endeavour to obtain the services of such men as Dr. Caldwell, Dr. Pope, and Mr. Metz, to draw up a table of signs which should represent all the sounds to be found in the different dialects of the Presidency. This list might be then forwarded to the other Provinces, in order that philologists there might add letters expressive of any sounds in Northern languages which are not found in the Dravidian dialects. When a general alphabet had been agreed upon, it should be sent to every district as the basis for vocabularies of the ruder and less known dialects. If the vocabularies thus formed, were again submitted to competent philologists for correction of the orthographical errors, into which ignorance of derivation might lead compilers, they would afford a reliable basis for the comparative philology of India.

The vocabulary in the Appendix is simply an attempt to render correctly, with due regard to derivations, the sounds of certain words in the Hill dialects; it has no pretensions to anything more.†

The Todas have hardly a tradition or legend of any sort from which information as to their former condition can be obtained. They believe that their ancestors always inhabited these hills, that is (for their ideas on the subject seem chiefly negative) they have no knowledge or belief of their having migrated from elsewhere. Mr. Metz thinks the Todas came from the neighbourhood of Kāligāl (Collegāl), because he has often been asked for news of the relatives, who, they believe, still reside there. I cannot find, however, that any Todas are now known in that neighbourhood. Mr. Minchin informs me that there are three colonies of Todas in Wainād, one at Dēvāla, and two on the eastern slopes of the Neliyālam Peak range. Those at Dēvāla, he says, reside in houses of bamboo, built with gable ends, like the huts of the Paniers, and occasionally work as house-builders for the bazaar people, but live chiefly by the sale of ghee and milk. They are Peikis, and say that they left the Nīlagiris sixty years ago to find a better sale for their produce. This account of themselves is confirmed by the fact, that within my own knowledge the dry funeral of two of them has been celebrated at the funeral mund of the Peikis near Ootacamund.

Little more information is to be derived from foreign sources. The Badagas are said to have come to the hills in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, *i.e.*, about three centuries ago; but their songs and stories depict the Todas much as we see them now. I think, however, we may infer that the latter were more numerous, from the fact of their having been able to exact the *gūdu* in the first instance, whereas now, with all the help afforded by long custom, they have at times difficulty in collecting it. Moreover, there are still traces to be found of old mands

* Such an alphabet is not open to the objections which historians and geographers urge with much reason against every method of transcribing names of places and other well-known oriental words which will render them unintelligible to the ordinary reader, because it is simply wanted for philological purposes.

† I believe that since the above was written the Government of India have authoritatively prescribed a system of transliteration, how obtained I do not know.—*Editor.*

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174 long ago deserted, some of which by the girth of the trees which have since grown up in them, have evidently been abandoned for centuries.

177 It would appear that the Todas have always maintained some intercourse with the western coast, as the cowrie necklaces of the women imply. The earliest notice of 489 them I know of, is to be found in the Journal of the Archbishop of Goa, Alexo de 175 Menezes; Coimbra, 1606, the following extract from which has been kindly furnished me by Dr. Gundert:—

175 "From Malabar the Vicars' regular report, from their hitherto neglected and paganised churches, came in to Goa (in 1599). At this time two Cattanars had been to Todamala in the country of the Zamorin, 50 leagues distant from the furthest churches. There (in Todamala) there are still Christians, who speak a language different from the Malabar language. They call their god 'Bidi'* (=fado, fatum). They have a Trinity of persons, viz., an old man, a youth, and a small bird. They say Thomas taught them, but because the king of Mylapūr killed all Christians, they took refuge on these mountains, that there their Cattanars have died, their books have been lost, and all idea of God has disappeared, but still they have a picture very much injured of that Trinity. The objects of that picture they try to keep in mind. They knew that in Cochin there were people of their own caste, on which account they called the two Cattanars brothers, and summoned men and women together to hear them, when the Cattanars explained from the picture the Trinity to the people. The Jesuit Roy was very glad of this report, and spoke of it as not a singular instance. In other places also (near the hills) remains of former Christian congregations were discovered. He (Roy) became Bishop of Angimale in 1601, and Archbishop of Cranganore in 1605."

This report seems to have led to further investigations, as we find by the following abstract of a manuscript in the British Museum kindly furnished me by the Reverend Mr. Whitehouse:—

At the synod of Udiamparūr in the state of Cochin,† held under Archbishop Menezes in 1599, information having been received that there were certain villages of Christians in a country called Todamala, who anciently belonged to the Syrian church of Malabar, but then had nothing of Christianity except the bare name, it was ordered that priests and preachers should be sent thither immediately to redeem them to the Catholic faith, baptise them, &c. Francisco Roy, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of the Syrian Christians, in 1602 sent a priest and deacon of the Christians of St. Thomas with a good guide to find out the place and collect information. They reached the Todamala; but, as the account brought back by them, was not so sure and complete as was desirable, Bishop Roy requested the Vice-Principal of the Jesuits to depute a priest of his own order to make further inquiries. The Rev. Jacome Ferreiri was selected for this mission. He started from Calicut, the place of his residence, and was permitted to return safely, after undergoing great exposure and fatigue, with a good deal of information about the hill tribes, their manners and customs, but with no tidings of any Christian colony, which had either become extinct or removed elsewhere, if it had ever been there at all.

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* Dr. Gundert says, "Bidi or Vidhi is a well-known name of Brahma."

† Todamala is included in a list of Christian churches given in Assemani Bibl. Orient., but this only refers to the date of this same synod.

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175 At Calicut he wrote a formal report, dated April 1st, 1603, from which the following particulars are gleaned :—

He proceeded viâ Manarecate 18 leagues inland from Tanûr. A native convert, a nephew of the Samuri Rajah, accompanied him, and some others. Their route led them over steep and rugged mountains, infested with elephants and tigers. At Manarecate they were told that the Todamala was 6 Canarese or 12 Malabar leagues distant, and that it would take them two days and a half to reach their destination. Here they provided themselves with extra clothing as a protection against the cold of the mountains, and also provision for their journey. The Nairs who accompanied them wisely left their weapons behind them, lest the hill people should take alarm. The evening of the second day from Manarecate* found them at the foot of a steep hill up which their route lay. On the third day they reach a Badaga village called Melcuntao (? Mêlûr or Mêlkûndah), containing between one and two hundred inhabitants. The priest and deacon previously sent are said to have arrived thus far. Here they met also with the chief of the Todas, who agreed to call his people together so that they might have an opportunity of conversing with them. On the following day the Jesuit father tried to converse with the Badagas on the subject of Christianity. He also had an interview with the Toda priest called Pallem (Pâlâl) outside the Badaga village, which he would not enter for fear of pollution. They saw some Toda women, and gave them looking glasses and hanks of thread, with which they were much pleased. The third day of their sojourn on the hills was spent in a visitation of some of the Toda settlements, which are very correctly described, as also their dress, diet, manners, and customs. They could not give much account of their own origin, and gave no information leading to the supposition that either they or their ancestors ever had anything to do with any form or profession of Christianity. They simply said that they had heard that their ancestors came from the East, that one party settled on these mountains, and another party descended into the plains. Their number was supposed to be about 1,000, scattered pretty equally over four mountain districts. Feeling the cold, and the Samorin's nephew beginning to be indisposed, they now began to arrange for their descent into the low country. Ere they left, they promised to return within a year, and make a longer stay. Circumstances however prevented them from so doing. The friendly Badagas showed them a better road than that by which they made the journey there.

Very probably the records of the Portuguese missionaries on the Western Coast would furnish us with further information regarding the Todas.

The only other notice (also furnished by Dr. Gundert) I possess, is the following :

Il Viaggio all' Indie Orientale del padre F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, Procurator Generale dei Carmelitani scalzi. Roma 1672, Venetia 1683.

" The Todri, a small tribe of rather fair people on the mountains behind Ponâne in " the kingdom of the Zamorin, pray to the buffaloes by which they live. They choose the

* Mr. Whitehouse says, "I think the Manarecate must be the place called Manaar in Ward's Government " Survey Map, about Lat. 11°, Long. 76° 30', because it was 18 leagues inland from Tanur, and from thence " 12 leagues to the Todamala. There is a Manaar at the foot of the Sandapatti Ghât, but this is too near. " This idea receives support from Buchanan's Journey through Mysore and Canara, Vol. ii. p. 434, where he " speaks of a tract of land occupying part of the mountains between Malabar and Coimbatoore, divided into two " districts, Attapedi and Agraia-Cadoor, and says that the pass leading to Attapedi is called Manarghât."

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175 "oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure "the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also "into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something "of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do "not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

173 The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract
173 from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

124 A Pekkan man, Kiniaven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his
533 people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there
538 were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he
173 enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought
173 about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us,
176 "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pālkhis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute enumeration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill*,* *and Nīlaseri hill*,† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

124 Up to this point I had to extract Kiniaven's information piecemeal, but afterwards,
539 finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became communicative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda,
173 great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Mīnāhāl road, near the top of the Sigūr Ghāt. † To the right of the Ootacamund road.

First Story.

A Pekkan* Ēn, and his wife who was with child, went from Kūltul mand to Okadnâdmund. The husband brought fibres of a thorn tree, and in due course the wife brought forth a pumpkin!† The Pekkan said, "What! this child is dead, we must make a *Kêd*." They made a *Kêd*, and when the fire touched the pumpkin it split in two, and one half contained a male child; they brought it to Ootacamund, and it lived there, until one day the father found it playing in the kraal, and blew some dust on it, when it became a kite, and flew away. In those days the gods used to assemble on Doddabett, and the kite used to sit with them. One day the gods took counsel, saying "Why does the kite come here, let us drive him out;" so one of them, named Kodâtha, took the kite home to Kodâtha-betta (Hulikaldûrga), and pushed him over; the kite, in falling, caught hold of a bamboo, with which he returned, and struck Kodâtha's head, so that it split into three pieces. Again the kite joined the assembly of the gods, who said, "The kite does everything; will he turn backwards the stream of Piewakmund? will he catch hold of the sun?" The kite turned back the stream, and tried to catch the sun, first with iron, then with bell-metal chains, both of which melted; at last he made the hook and part of the chain with stone, and caught the sun, and brought it down to Nîrvîthmund. Then the world was dark: then the gods went to the kite and said, "You are very great, let the sun go;" so he let the sun go, and the river return to its course. 539 773

Before death began, one Ēn, a Todi of Muttanâd Mand,‡ used to go to the other world and return, accompanied by Ponetwan of Okadnâdmand. One day when they were in the other world, the kite came and said to the people of Okadnâdmand, "Ēn and Ponetwan will not return, therefore tie bells to thirty buffaloes and make the *Kêd* ceremony on their account;" and they did so. As Ēn and Ponetwan returned, they met buffaloes with bells coming; so Ponetwan cried, "The kite has done this;" and he touched the buffaloes with his forehead and wept, and his tears became a spring of water; and he blew his nose and there sprang up a tree. Then both said, "They have killed buffaloes for us, we must go back to the other world;" so they went, and took the buffaloes with them. Afterwards a man died in a circle of stones on the right hand side of the road to Kalhatti.§ People tried to lift the body, but could not, so they burnt him there. As there were no posts to the circle, they made women with rice-pounders stand at the entrance all night, and next day the buffaloes were killed.

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* A Pekkan of Manjahal Mand.

† Comp. *Ramayana*, book 1, chap. xl. Soumati, the wife of king Sagara of Ayodhya, gave birth to a pumpkin, which broke, and from it issued the 60,000 sons she had been promised. Afterwards the 60,000 were reduced to ashes in an encounter with Vishnu, but obtained Swarga on being sprinkled by the Ganges, by the advice of Garuda, whose appearance seems to make it possible that the Toda story may really be a corruption of this very old legend.

‡ To the left hand of the Segûr road, near the top of the Ghât close to Seven Cairn hill. The "Bon" (Plate XIII.) is at this mand, which from the position it holds in all these stories, I imagine to be one of the oldest.

§ Nearly opposite Muttanâd Mand. There are several circles here, some apparently kraals. I dug out the circle built on rock and found that it had nowhere more than a foot of soil above the rock, so that the posts could not have been fixed. There are many dolmens on a neighbouring hill, and the place seems to have been an old funeral mand. The story looks like an invention to account for this obsolete kraal, when the real story was forgotten.

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As the Paikâra *Tiriari* buffaloes had gone with Ēn and Ponetwan, Pūrsh, Ēn's daughter, went to the other world and brought them back. But when they returned, they said, "We will not give you our milk, Pūrsh; let our calves have it." Pūrsh went and told this to Ēn, who said, "Give the *Têd* tree bark to the buffaloes, and they will cease to speak, and you can take their milk." Again, Pūrsh went to ask for the golden milk-vessels and churn, which she had left in the other world; but Ēn said, "You left them here, and I will not give them back: use bamboos for milk vessels, and make a churn with five branches like the kafle flower,* and do not come here any more."

When Ēn was gone, there was no head of the Todas, so Pūrsh was made head; and she lived at Muttanâd temple (*Plate* XIII.), and established the *Pâlâls*, *Tiriaris*, *Mands*, and *Boas*. One day an army of horsemen from Mysore came near; when Pūrsh heard of it she said, "Let them all become stones;" so they were turned into stones;† but a few escaped. After this another troop came, and halted at Segūr. Four of them came up the hill, captured a Todi, and asked him, "Who turned the first army into stones?" and they bribed him to tell them of Pūrsh's curse. Then the Mysoreans returned and told their chief; and he said, "Take mutton, and throw it at Pūrsh's door, and the flesh will expel the god." They did so, and Pūrsh came out like a fire, and was transformed into the hill behind Muttanâd Mand.‡ Then the Mysoreans came up and plundered the Todas. Before this time the Todas used to see and speak to their gods, but from the time Pūrsh disappeared, and from the day that a Toda betrayed his people, the gods are seen no more of men.

Second Story.

Kotēn, Tekudi, and Elna were three brothers, who lived respectively at Hona Mand, Tārnât Mand (*Plate* VIII.), and Muttanâd Mand.§ The wife of the former cursed her husband, saying, "You possess no *Kotagiri*, no *Tiriari*." Kotēn went to his brother and said, "I am cursed, I can't eat or go to the house; give me a *Tiriari* and some Kotas." Then Tekudi gave him a *Tiriari* bell and buffaloes from the Muttanâd *Tiriari*, and Elna gave him a Kota man and woman.

Kotēn went off with these to the Kundahs, and established a *Tiriari* and *Pâlâls*, and placed the Kotas at the Kundah *Kotagiri*, called by Todas Mērkōkâl.‖

When the Paikara Pâlâl drove Elna's buffaloes to the Sholūr Tiriari, where the god Ênta presides, the buffaloes refused to go, and said they could not go without the bell which Tekudi had taken. The Pâlâl told Elna, who told Ênta. He said he would give a stick, which was to be given to a Pekkan of Manjakal Mund, who was to take a horn to be cut from the head of a living buffalo, and blow it in front, when the buffaloes would follow. Even now when the Paikara buffaloes go to the Sholūr Tiriari, a Pekkan must go in front with a horn, and the horn is blown every evening when the Pâlâl has finished his meal. Enta added that he would kill Tekudi by a bow and arrow within eight days.

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* Such as the Todas still use. Two are seen in *Plate* IX. leaning against the hut.

† A variety of this story is connected with some upright stones, apparently slabs from a half-destroyed cairn, near Mr. Findlay's plantation at Kodanâd. Mr. Findlay tells me that he was told by a Toda, that these were once soldiers who insulted the Pâlâl of a neighbouring Tiriari, whereupon he threw some milk over them and turned them into stones.

‡ The hill nearest Muttanâd Mand is Seven Cairn Hill, connected with the story of Dirkish.

§ All these mands belong to the Todi clan, which is the largest, and possibly the oldest from its position in these stories.

‖ Mērkōkâl means the Kota village of the Kūndahs. Mēr is the Toda for Kūndahs, and Kōkâl for Kota village.

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As Tekudi came from Tarnâṭ Mand one day, an arrow appeared in the shape of a bird screaming. Tekudi looked up and the arrow dropped into his eye. The arrow was one that a lame Toda, lying down and by means of his legs,* shot by command of Ênta into the air.

Tekudi fell on his back and died, and a Toda man with him put a stone on his head and on each of his hands and his legs. The stones are still to be seen on the road to Paikâra. The man accompanying Tekudi, reported what had happened to the people at Tarnâṭ Mand, and they all went out to see, and found some hair on the stone which had been placed over the head, and some blood, but no corpse.

After this, Kotên went to a Kurumba village in Bâni Shûma,† and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swâmi‡ woman, by name Têrkosh, whom he married. After this, Kotên returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotên slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring§ and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Têrkosh were transformed into two hills, which are now known by the names of Kotên and Têrkosh, on the Sisapâra side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits.‖ The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Têrkosh. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotên.

Elna had five or six hundred cattle at Muttanâd. When milking them in front of the mand, samber used to come out of the *shola* and bell and make a noise, which made all the buffaloes run away. So Elna built the wall which now appears at Muttanâd Mand.¶

Third Story.

Ên's father was called Pith, and he and his father made the Mands. Ênta, Pith, and Dewak were born at the same time, all Swâmis in the form of men, and are recognised by all Todas as gods. There were no Todas when they were born. Ên one day said, "What's the use of being quiet?" and took a stick and thrust it in the earth, from whence came eighteen hundred common buffaloes, followed by a Toda holding a buffalo's tail. Ên's wife did the same a little way off, and out came two thousand

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* Compare *Elphinstone's History of India*, Appendix iii., page 263.—"The peculiar Indian bow, now only "used in mountainous countries, which is drawn with the assistance of the foot, and shoots an arrow more than "six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, &c." This incident confirms in a measure the testimony as to the use of the bow afforded by the marriage and funeral rites.

† Bâni Shûma, the country of the Bhawâni (Bhowâny) river.

‡ Swâmi, God or Lord; used here as an adjective.

§ Nirvân, the present head of the Todi clan, possesses a ring, an ordinary silver ring of large size, which is said to be Kotên's ring. Nirvân claims to be a direct descendant of Kotên. He professes to have lost the spear.

‖ These five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, viz.:—Dirkish, Kodâtha, Pûrsh, Kotên, and Têrkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt at Maleswaramalê.

¶ This seems to have been connected to account for the existence of the wall which runs round the crest of the hill and forms a peculiar feature at Muttanâd Mand.

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539 white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. Ēn took a
773 rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman, and from these two came all the Todas. Ēn had a son Pauv. Pith, Ēn, and Pauv made all the mands and *tiriaris*. They themselves became *Pālols*, and built temples. When a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Āsāram*.

Pith and Ēn lived in Ēnnâd Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and Ēn set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Âmunâd*. Ēn and Pauv remained making *pūjā** and building mands. Pauv milked the buffaloes morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into the water and never returned.

Ēn had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Âmunâd*. Ēn then told the Todas he must go to *Âmunâd*. They said they would go also. Ēn said, "No, you must remain "here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this, the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him away.

773 These stories may serve, I think, to explain the report of the Cattanars quoted above. When I asked Kiniaven about Bidi or Vidhi, he at once said Pith, and told me
173 that Pith had formerly a temple, at which the Todas used to prostrate themselves, but
771 which had now fallen into disuse; an example of that decay of the Toda religion, of which we find many traces.

If, as one of my informants stated, Pith's son Ēn was the father of the kite, the
114 story of the Trinity is explained.

As for the accounts of the flight from Mailapur, (St. Thomé), that, reading Buddhist or Jain for Christian, is the story of the Kurumbas. Very likely the Cattanars encountered both races. The Kurumbas do not now own to any traditions; but two centuries and a half ago, when the power of their kinsfolk of the plains had not long been destroyed, they may have retained some reminiscences of their former state.

The singularity of the Toda religion, and especially the absence of idols, has induced all sorts of theories as to their origin. Another tradition, mentioned by Mr. Whitehouse, is that they were Manichæans, an idea probably gathered from their reverence for sun and fire, and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship, and from their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect" life of the Manichæans.

174 That the Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichæans, seems
771 improbable. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic missionaries to

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797 * *Pūjā*, worship.

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discover and turn to account any resemblances, real or apparent, between the heathen religions in possession, and that which they sought to introduce, the Cattanars may be forgiven for their mistake; especially as in a different form, it has been repeated by the modern writers who have enlarged on the simple virtues of the Todas, on their desire for instruction, their freedom from idolatry, and consequent readiness to accept Christianity, under the common delusion that the soil which has proved too sterile to nurture a false religion, is the fittest for the reception of the true. Mr. Whitehouse's manuscript shows that further inquiry did not confirm the tale of the Cattanars. I know of no Christian remains of any sort on the Nīlagiris, nor can *I find, in* the customs of the Hill tribes, anything that can reasonably be referred to a reminiscence of Christianity. Mr. Metz derives Peranganād (Toda *Pirgár*) from Feringhi; but we have no evidence, as to the origin or antiquity of the name, that can warrant us in attributing it to the existence of ancient Christian settlements.*

If not Christian, however, the Toda religion is singular enough. Its trace of element worship, trace of ancestor worship, and strong pastoral colouring are almost Vedic; while the omission from their Pantheon of the regular gods of the plains, in any of their innumerable forms, indicates long isolation.

Some few of their customs resemble those of the various Kol tribes. The similarity in the funeral rites of the Ho and Mūndah Kols of Nagpore has already been noticed; the Larkā Kols have the same singular law of inheritance, by which the house becomes the property of the youngest son; they also offer a young buffalo once a year (like the Peikis); but it is to the well-known goddess Bhawāni; and they break a pot at funerals, their dead being sometimes burnt, sometimes buried.†

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* While these pages have been passing through the press, Mr. Whitehouse's interesting narrative of the Syrian Church of Malabar (Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land, being Researches into the past History and present Constitution of the Syrian Church of Malabar, by the Revd. Thomas Whitehouse, M.A.) has been published. In this work, page 133, the author expresses his decided opinion that "there is no reason whatever "to believe that the Todas of the Nilagiris were ever in any way associated with either the Christian or "Manicheen settlers of the Low Country or of the Coast of Malabar, or had ever known anything of "Christianity, even so much as its external forms."—*Editor.*

† The following description of some of the Papuans applies word for word to the Todas:—

"Sie haben religiöse Gebräuche und Uebungen welche, mit einigen anderen Erscheinungen in ihrem Leben, "mit ihrem jetzigen Culturzustande ganz unvereinbar erscheinen, wenn man darin nicht die Spuren einer früher "höhern Bildung erkennen will."

"They have religious customs and practices, which, as well as some other circumstances in their life, seem "quite irreconcileable with their present state of civilization, unless we recognise in them the traces of a formerly "higher culture."—*Trench's Study of Words, page* 22, *note.*

It need hardly be said that it was not intended in this work to enter on the vexed question of the origin of civilisation. The cases of the Todas and Kurumbas were considered on their own merits without bias in favour of any theories about Primeval man, and the evidence of their degradation is given for what it is worth. That such instances of decay exist can hardly be questioned; whether they are the rule or the exception will probably not be soon, if ever, determined. Meanwhile, to ascertain facts about the tribes in question seemed more germane to the matter than to discuss theories of civilization.—*Editor.*

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Plate III

TODA MEN AND WOMAN.

3₈ Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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TODA WOMEN.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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TODA MAN.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

142
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TODA WOMAN.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE VI.

TODA MAN'S HEAD.

3c Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE VII.

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TODA MAN'S HEAD.

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TODA VILLAGE. TÂRNÂT MAND.

Plate VIII

31 Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

3s Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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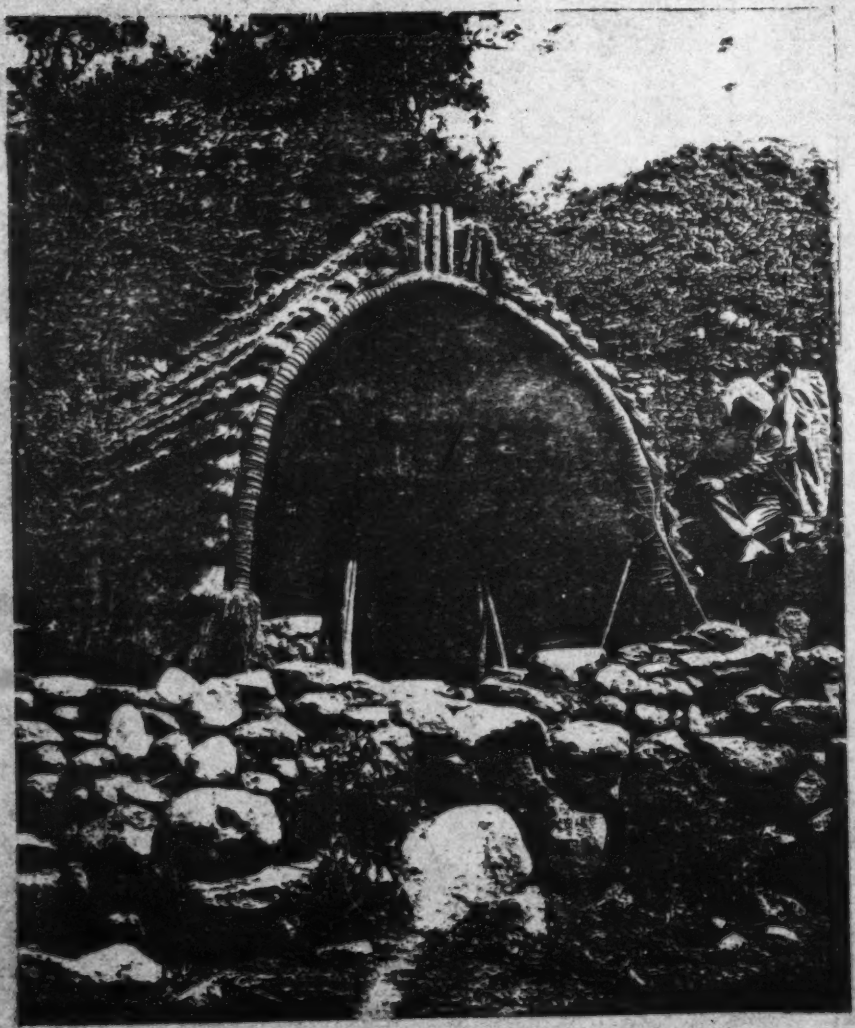
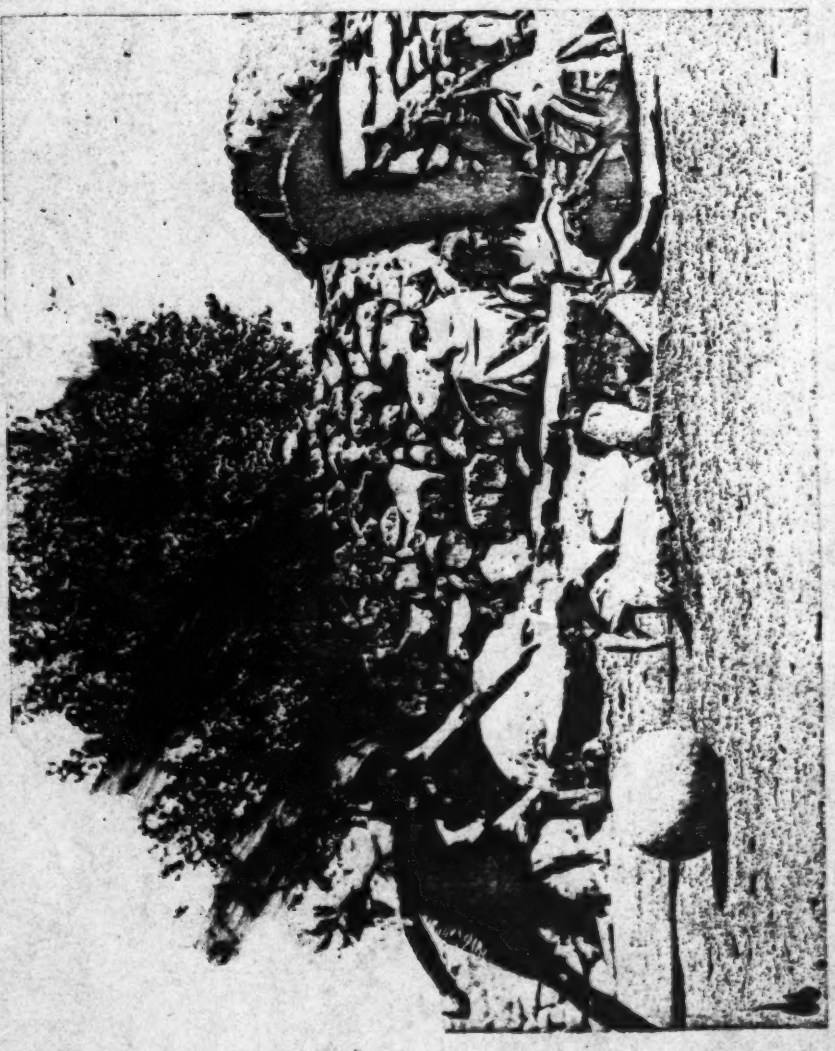


TODA HUT. PAIKARA TIRIARI.

3₂ Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE X

526



TODAS AT PLAY.

3a Brooks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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TODAS WITH CLUBS &c.

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APPENDIX B.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE of ORNAMENTS, IMPLEMENTS, &c. of NILAGIRI TRIBES.

TODAS.

No. I.—*Pútkuli*, worn by men and women. *See* Report. The cloth purchased from weavers who come to the Hills from Serumugé in Coimbatore. Rupees 4.

291 No. II.—*Thorp.* Waistcloth worn by men. Purchased from Serumugé merchants. Rupees 1.

No. III.—*Kosa* (ಕೊಸ) Langooty. Procured from Serumugé merchants. 2 annas.

292 No. IV.—*Kúsy* (ಕುಚ್ಚ), worn round the waist over No. II. by men who take a part in the funeral ceremonies. Procured from Calicut. Rupees 4.

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285 415 No. V.—*Melari* (ಮೇಲರಿ). Four baskets, of sizes, to hold grain, made by Todas and Kotas of bamboo and rattan. Annas 10.

322 415 No. VI.—*Pon* (ಪೊನ್ನು). Two milk vessels, of sizes, for milk and curds, made by Todas and Badagas from bamboo joints, with handle and binding of rattan. 8 annas.

No. VII.—*Wâk* (ವಾಕ್). Drinking vessel size of a pint, made by Todas and Badagas of small bamboos and bound with rattan. 1 anna.

000 No. VIII.—*Kuarsh*. Walking sticks, two of bamboo, two of jungle wood.

No. IX.—Four pairs of rings worn by Toda men and women. Rings made by Kotas. Rupees 4, 10 annas.

526 No. X.—Sticks and "*Cat*" used in the game *Hâbu*. *See* page 7.$\frac{1}{4}$ Made by Toda men. *Gratis.*

$\frac{1}{4}$ [Errata: See p. 10 -- Analyst]

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293 No. XI.—Toda club (ornamented as used at a funeral ceremony). See Plate XI. Made by the Todas of the Hill tree. Rupee 1.

764

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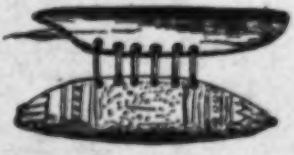
301 No. XII.—Gold earrings. Worn generally by men and sometimes by women. Made by Kotas. Gold procured from Malabar in the shape of sovereigns. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

293 No. XIII.—Silver box, and opening with a screw. Used for small gold coins. Worn round the waist over the *thorp* with a string, or sometimes a silver chain. Silver, got from silver coins. Made by low country smiths, and bought in its present shape by the Todas. Rupees 6.



301 No. XIV.—*Tilsidi*. Brass armlet worn by women above the elbow; big ones weigh each 2½ lbs., small ones 1 lb. Made by Kotas of brass brought up by low country merchants. An armlet made of Nilagiri nettle fibre, bound with cotton thread, with a coarse tassel, is worn as a sort of buffer between the brass armlets. A woman will sometimes wear two of the big brass armlets, and two of the small ones on each arm. Girls of ten years old will begin to wear the small ones, and three or four years after the big ones. The armlets are never taken off except for repairs. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

301 No. XV.—Two necklaces worn and made by Toda women. Beads purchased in Bazaar. The beads are strung upon thread made of the Nilagiri nettle. Black beaded necklace called *Kashwul*. Red beaded necklace called *Nerbelli*. Annas 4.

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000 No. XVI.—*Kyttkoolidrí*. Tied round the elbow of a female corpse, and burnt with the body. Made by Toda women.

Tyíri (ತೈರಿ). The bag or lump at the end contains the flower and leaf of ° ?
6 pice.

45 No. XVII.—*Pyal*. Cocoa-nut drinking vessel, used by women for milk and tyre. Made by Todas out of cocoa-nuts brought from the low country. *Gratis*.

000 No. XVIII.—*Sa*. Cloth tied round the waist of a female corpse, and burnt with the body. Cloth made by Badagas in Jakanúri in this district. The same villagers make the Pálól's cloths (Tuzni). *See* page 16. Rupee 1.

361 No. XIX.—*Kaythrieth* (ಕೈತ್ರಿಯೆತ್). Silver earrings worn by women in each ear. Made by Kotas. Rupees 5.

No. XX.—*Bilbel* (ಬಿಲ್ಬೆಲ್). Iron bracelets worn by women on the left wrist. Made by Kotas. 12 annas.

No. XXI.—*Helbu* (ಹೆಲ್ಬು).—Two small iron rings worn by women on the first finger of the left hand; they usually wear two, sometimes four. Made by Kotas. *Gratis*.

° This was left blank, probably till the botanical name could be ascertained. I do not know what use is referred to.—Ed.

3g Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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No. XXII.—*Thorig* (ತೊರ್ಗ). Dish of bell metal made in the low country, used by Todas to eat out of. Four or five sizes will be found in each house. Rupees 3, 12 annas.

608

No. XXIII.—"Pútkuli." Same as No. I, but worn by women so as to hang down to the feet, and not thrown so much over the left shoulder. Rupees 3.

No. XXIV.—*Tharp* (ತರ್ಪ.) Waistcloth worn by women high up over the breasts. The female "tharp" is larger than the man's "tharp." Procured from Serumuge. 10 annas.

No. XXV.—*Bilthagir*. Necklace, made by Kotas. The chain of silver, the tassels of cowries. When worn, the tassels hang down behind. Rupees 3.

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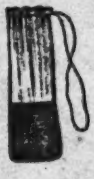
764

No. XXVI.—*Tinnigdni* (ತಿನ್ನಿಗ್ದ್ನಿ). Purse made by Toda women. At funerals it is put into the pouch of the Pútkuli and burnt with the corpse. Made of coloured cotton thread. *Gratis*.

No. XXVII.—*Kóttshtram*. Ordinary purse worn by Todas. Made in the low country and bought by Todas from traders who came to the Hills. *Gratis*.



No. XXVIII.—*Pénnár* (ಪೆನ್ನಾರ್.) Made of black and white cotton by Toda women. Tied round the waist of the corpse and burnt at funerals. Ends done up with cowries. Sometimes eight or ten are burnt at one time. *Gratis*.

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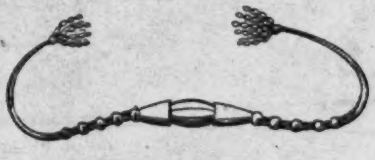
301 No. XXIX.—*Kévilth* (ಕೆವಿಲ್ತ್). Necklace made by Kotas. Worn generally by women; burnt with the body at funerals. 30 rupees.



No. XXX.—*Billvall* (ಬಿಳ್ವಳ್ಳ). Worn by women on the right wrist. Made by Malabar jewellers. Small silver beads rattle inside. Rupees 5, 8 annas.

No. XXXI.—*Thaggár* (ತಗ್ಗರ್). Brass chain worn by women round their waist next to the skin. Made at Kota village. Rupees 1, 4 annas.

No. XXXII.—*Módam* (ಮೋದಂ). Silver ring worn by men and women on the small finger of either hand; a coin often forms the seal of the ring. Made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 3, 4 annas.

No. XXXIII.—*Pittch.* Worn by males and females on the third finger of the right hand, and made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 4, 8 annas.

372 No. XXXIV.—*Kvelth* (ಕೆವ್ಲ್ತ್). Bamboo for blowing up fires. Made by Todas.

764 No. XXXV.—*Patti.* A square basket covered with cloth and cotton, and ornamented with cowries; at dry funeral for a female, 15 or 18 will be burnt, each containing a piece of jaggery, garlic, safron, sandalwood, and some nār (fibre) for sewing thread, the latter prepared by Toda women; the basket is made by the Kurumbas.

No. XXXVI.—*Kuttkvelth* (ಕುಟ್ಟ್‌ಕೆವ್ಲ್ತ್). Burnt at the dry funeral of a female. Made by Kotas.

534 No. XXXVII.—*Buguri* (ಬುಗರಿ). Musical instrument; a sort of flute. Made by the Todas, and played by them and by Badagas.

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412 No. XXXVIII.—*Pat* (ಪಟ್). Wooden implement, used in cooking to stir the rice. Made by Todas.

372 No. XXXIX.—*Nirah*. Dry sticks which produce fire by friction. *See* page 13. Every mand has some of these sticks.

415 No. XL.—*Chidi* (ಚಿಡಿ). Spoon of cocoa-nut, and bamboo handle. Made by Todas.